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SUKARNO, PRES

KABINET PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA

AMANAT PJM PRESIDEN SUKARNO PADA PEMBUKAAN KONFERENSI
INTERNASIONAL ANTI PANGKALAN MILITER ASING (KIAPMA),
DI HOTEL INDONESIA, JAKARTA, 17 OKTOBER 1965.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades, Sisters and Brothers,

A few months ago my dear sister Madame Utami Suryadarma and my dear brother Arudji Kartawinata came to me and asked me for my blessing for the holding of an international conference for the liquidation of foreign military bases. And whether I would be willing to come on the opening day of the conference to give my blessing. Of course immediately I told them ^{that} I would be delighted to come and give my blessing. This morning again my dear sister Utami Suryadarma and my dear brother Arudji Kartawinata came to fetch me from my house to bring me here. And they asked me to make a speech in a foreign language. I mean a speech not in the Indonesian language, because the great majority of the delegates do not understand Indonesian. They said there are delegates from Asia, from Africa, from Europe, from Latin America. Some of them can understand and do speak French, some of them do speak German, some of them do speak Spanish. A great majority of them do speak and understand English. Bung Karno, they said, would you please be so kind as to speak in one of the foreign languages.

Well, I was faced with a very great difficulty. Because I have not prepared any written speech for this conference. I thought that I could speak in the language of my people, Indonesian. And that a complete staff of interpreters are ready here to translate simultaneously my speech either in English, in Spanish, in French, or in German.

Why do you applaud? O.K., O.K., thank you. Some of you speak German. Aber ich kann nicht gut Deutsch sprechen. And some of you speak French, mais je ne sais pas parler français bien. English, well, I do speak a little English, that, yes, still it is very difficult for me to express myself in that foreign language. But because I know that the greatest majority of you do understand English, alright, I shall try to make myself understood in English. Only please take it for granted if my English is not comme il faut. Very bad English. But always in such a situation I console myself with the thought that better than the language of the spoken word is the language of the spirit. And I am speaking with my spirit. I am speaking to you, to you of whom I know that in you, in your breast, in your mind is the same spirit as Bung Karno's spirit. The spirit of anti-imperialism, the spirit of anti-colonialism, the spirit of anti-neo-colonialism, the spirit of liberty, the spirit of peace, the spirit of the world brotherhood of man. In that spirit, my dear Brothers, sisters, I am addressing you.

KIAPMA,

KIAPMA, International Conference for the Liquidation of Foreign Military Bases. Of course, we are all for it, the liquidation of foreign military bases. Why are we all for it? Because we are anti-imperialist, because we are anti-colonialist, because we are anti-neo-colonialist, because we are anti-oppression, because we are for worldpeace, because we are anti-exploitation de l'homme par l'homme, because we are anti-exploitation de nation par nation.

That is why I am sure that you all here are united in one spirit. And that because of that, you will not have a difficult conference, but a very easy conference. I mean easy to get along together, easy to come to a common solution, to a common determination. That is why I give, my dear Brothers and Sisters, all my blessings to you and all my best wishes to you and that I pray that this conference be crowned with great success.

We are all against imperialism. Yes. Imperialism is the greatest curse of this world, this world of today. This world of today is divided into two great camps. You know what I mean. The great camp of the New Emerging Forces and the other camp, the camp of the Old Established Forces.

When I laid the first foundation stone of the political venues, the building of the Conference of the New Emerging Forces, in that ceremony I said, that several years ago Bertrand Russel, the great English philosopher, Bertrand Russel, the great fighter for peace among mankind, that Bertrand Russel made an analysis of this world of today. And he said that this world of today is divided into two camps, that mankind now is divided in two camps. One camp, the nations or the people standing behind the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson in 1776. That is the camp ^{of} the so called American bloc, the camp of the peoples and nations standing behind America. The camp of the peoples and nations standing behind the Declaration of Independence of Thomas Jefferson. And then Bertrand Russel said, there is another camp, the other part of mankind, and the other part of mankind is the camp of the peoples or nations standing behind the Communist Manifest, the Communist-Manifest written by Marx, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. Two big camps standing in front of each other, and trying to devour each other. That was Bertrand Russel's analysis.

I myself that same year, made another analysis. And I said, no, my mankind is not divided into two camps, the camp of Thomas Jefferson and the camp of the Communist Manifest. But I said, there is another camp, a camp number three, a bloc number three. The bloc of the peoples and nations of Asia and Africa and of Latin America. The camp of the nations and peoples who later congregate in the camp of the so called non-aligned nations, the camp of the ^{called} so non-committed nations.

But, mind,

But, mind, my dear brothers and sisters, not long after that I myself corrected, I corrected this analysis of mine. I came to the conclusion that my analysis was not right. Is it true, that there are three camps? One, the camp of Thomas Jefferson. Number two, the camp of the Communist Manifest. Number three, the camp of the Asian African and Latin American nations, who congregated in the non-committed or non-aligned camp. I said, I had to correct it, and I came to the conclusion that the world now, and that is still now my opinion, still now my conviction, is divided into two camps. Two camps only, the camp of the Old Established Forces and the great, the big camp of the New Emerging Forces, two camps. And we all, we all, I and you, and you, and you, and you, we all, we are sitting, we are belonging to the camp of the New Emerging Forces. The world is now divided in those two camps. And there is a struggle going on, my dear brothers and sisters. A struggle going on, a struggle between the Old Established Forces and the New Emerging Forces. We of the New Emerging Forces, we are collecting, collecting, collecting, congregating, congregating, congregating all our forces, all our forces. In Asia, all our forces. In Africa, all our forces. In Europe, all our forces. In Latin America even also, all our forces. In North America too, one day, smash this camp of the Old Established Forces. And we are sure we shall win, because the greatest majority of mankind belong to this camp of the New Emerging Forces. You wait and see, this twentieth century is the century of victory of the New Emerging Forces.

Before I made analysis after analysis of the twentieth century, I said, the twentieth century is the century of the emerging of national states in Asia and Africa. That is true. It is in the twentieth century that national independent states emerge in Asia and Africa. And then I said also, the twentieth century is the century of the establishment of socialist countries. Yes, that is also true. It is in the twentieth century that the Soviet Union was born, that People's China was born, that Vietnam was born, that Czechoslovakia was born, I mean the present Czechoslovakia, that Poland was born, that Hungary was born, that other socialist countries were born. So it is also right, when I say that the twentieth century is the century of the birth of socialist countries, socialist nations. I said also the twentieth century is the century of the atomic revolution. Yes, it is true. It is in the twentieth century that the atomic science has come into being. And I even said, it is not only the century of the atomic revolution, but also the century of the ^{outer} space revolution. Yes, it is also true. And then I said, I think the first time it was in Phnom Penh, my dear delegate from Cambodia, when the Royal University of Phnom Penh conferred on me the honorary degree of Doctor Honoris Causa in Political Science. In my speech I said, my
speech to

speech to say my thanks to the University^{which} conferred on me the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa in Political Science, I said that the twentieth century is also the century of subversion and intervention. And^I think it is true. I think I am right in saying that. Especially in the twentieth century, we peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Socialist Peoples, etc., etc., we are being subverted, being intervened by the imperialist forces, by those forces like for example the central intelligence agency of America.

Now, today my dear brothers, I also say that the twentieth century^{is the century} of the victory of the New Emerging Forces. We shall win, I say, we shall smash imperialism by our combined forces. We shall make an end to this exploitation de l'homme par l'homme. We shall make an end to this exploitation de nation par nation. We shall establish the brotherhood of man. We shall establish world peace, lasting peace. As you said, not peace for today, but the eternal, lasting peace among mankind.

So my dear brothers and sisters, of course I am very glad, and I thank God that today this Kiapma Conference is going to be opened and I give you all my best wishes for success, I give you all my blessing.

Who of you does not know the evil of imperialism? Who of you does not know the evil of capitalism? Who of you, ^{mean} if your people, your nations do not suffer, are not suffering from the evil of imperialism. Especially we peoples of Asia and Africa, we know that, we know that imperialism came to our countries decades ago, centuries ago. For example the Indonesian nation, we know and have known imperialism for more than three centuries and a half. In 1596, Dutch imperialism came for the first time to Indonesia. And after that year 1596, our history, our Indonesian history is one of suffering, one of poverty, one of oppression, one of indignity. We have become, according to the words of a Dutch professor, we have become by this imperialism a nation of coolies and a coolie amongst nations.

We, Indonesians, we have become a nation of coolies and a coolie amongst nations. We, Indonesia, who before had a very great name in history. We, Indonesia, who before knew states or kingdoms as great as Madjapahit and Sriwidjaja. We, Indonesia, who before had a kingdom related to the kingdom of Kmer, Cambodia. My dear friend from Cambodia, you had your Djajawarman and your Surjawarman. We had our Purnawarman and our Aditiawarman. Our Asian history was a history of glory. The Indonesian state before ~~was~~ as large as the Indonesian archipelago, now. From the North point of Sumatra to the most Eastern point of our archipelago.

But then in 1596 the Dutch imperialist^s came, they made of our country a people, an object of exploitation already in the beginning ~~the camp of the nations and peoples~~ ^{called} of the so called non-aligned nations, the camp of the so-called non-committed nations.

But, mind,

of the twentieth century. We have become a nation of coolies and a coolie amongst nations. But, thank God, beginning of the twentieth century, we awoke, we awoke. The twentieth century is also the century of our awakening. We awoke and we came to the conclusion, to the knowledge that the cause, the reason, the cause of this poverty, the cause of this cooliedom, is imperialism. And that is why we Indonesians, we are so very much against imperialism. And we are glad that also other peoples in Asia and Africa, in Latin America and other places in the world, they also awoke, they also gathered there strength to fight against this evil of the twentieth century, this evil of the nineteenth century, the modern imperialism, child of capitalism in its highest state.

Look here, my dear friends, in one of my speeches, if I am not mistaken, it was a speech to the Upper Congress of Indonesia, I portrayed the so-called lifeline of imperialism. I pictured to the Upper Congress of Indonesia the lifeline of imperialism. Coming, through Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean, through Suez, through the Red Sea, through Aden, the strait of Bab el Mandeb, through the great Indian Ocean ^h which we now call Indonesiaⁿ Ocean, through the strait of Malacca, south of Singapore, from Singapore northwards, up to Japan. This is the great lifeline of imperialism. And along this lifeline of imperialism, imperialism made the peoples oppressed, poor, dependent, losing their liberty and independence, sucking their blood, make kingdom people, like our people, just coolies. That was why I said in my speech to the Upper Congress of Indonesia, well Indonesian people, let us gather our strength with all the peoples of the world. Let us gather our strength, all the peoples of the New Emerging Forces to make of this lifeline of imperialism, the deadline of imperialism.

What is Gibraltar? Foreign military basis. What is Malta? Foreign military basis. What is before Iskandariah in Port Said? Foreign military basis. What is Aden? People in Aden now are fighting. What is Aden? Foreign military basis. What is Singapore? Foreign military basis. What is Okinawa? Foreign military basis. What is Hongkong? Foreign military basis. What is Ogasawara? Foreign military basis. Along this lifeline of imperialism, my dear friends and sisters and brothers, foreign military bases are scattered. Scattered for what? Firstly, to maintain the domination of imperialism. Secondly, to contain us. And if necessary, to crush us. And that is why it is our duty, one of you said holy, sacred duty to try, to liquidate these foreign military bases.

I, my dear brothers and sisters, I want to point out one thing. We have to fight, not only against the foreign military bases, we have to fight not only for the liquidation of the foreign military bases, but we have also to ^{fight} against the foreign mental bases!

Because my

Because my dear brothers and sisters, imperialism has not placed only military bases, oh no, oh no, oh no! They have also placed foreign mental bases everywhere, everywhere in all our countries! They have put also mental bases in Pakistan. They have put mental bases in Dominica. You are fighting now against them. They have put mental bases in Indonesia. They have put mental bases in the United Arab Republic. They have put mental bases in Vietnam. They have put mental bases, clear, in Taiwan. They have put mental bases in Japan. They have put mental bases in Tunisia. They have put mental bases in Morocco. They have put mental bases in Brazil. They have put mental bases in Argentina. They have put mental bases in Venezuela. They have put mental bases in Panama. Everywhere in the world, my dear friends, they have put mental bases!

How? By putting there stooges, tools, persons, men, women, who are defending imperialism. Men and women who are trying to make our people love imperialism. Stooges, tools. I can tell you my dear brothers and sisters, even in my country in Indonesia those stooges and tools, they exist! And they are bringing all calamity in Indonesia, in our fight against imperialism.

That is why, my dear brothers and sisters, I beg of you in this conference, do not try to liquidate only military, foreign military bases, but give your attention also to the liquidation of the mental foreign bases. Because those mental bases, I mean people who are subverting us, people who are being used by imperialism, people of our race, people of our nation, people of our kin. They are being used as stooges, as tools of imperialism. Those people we have also to fight and struggle against.

My dear friends, my dear sisters and brothers, my blessing to you, my blessing to Kiapma and I pray God that Kiapma be crowned with great success, so that Kiapma, also the success of Kiapma may become a great contribution to the success of our struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism!

Thank you.

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